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Economic Growth and Higher Education Policies in Brazil: A Link?

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B razil is one of the new "emerging economies." It is flexing its muscles to become a leading international player, and thus, it needs good university institutions capable to produce the scientists and engineers needed to keep the momentum. Therefore, clear policies are required, to improve the standards of universities and the quality of higher education institutions, based on a clear identification of priorities. However, contrary to the assumptions and expectations of external observers, Brazil does not have such a strategy.

Brazil experienced cycles of rapid economic growth in the 1930s, after World War II, in the 1970s, and again after 2002. Each of these cycles can be explained by favorable external conditions—the revenues created by the agricultural and mining sectors, the influx of international investments, and the use of such resources to finance a growing public sector, the steady transfer of the population from the countryside to the urban centers, and generating a growing internal consumption market. These developments were also preceded by internal reorganizations of the economy, controlling inflation and increasing the governments' ability to raise taxes, as it happened in the late 1960s and more recently in the 1990s. In none of these cycles is a causal link found between investments in education, science, and technology and economic growth. On the contrary, the causality seems to be the opposite. With more resources, governments became more generous and willing to respond to the demands of an emerging middle class for more benefits, including free access to education. Thus, the existing network of federal universities was created during the period of economic expansion after the Second World War; and the current network of graduate education, research, and technology was set up in the late 1970s, when the "economic miracle" of the previous years was about to implode.

The economic boom of the last 10 years was mostly fueled by the macroeconomic stability achieved in the late 1990s, the favorable winds of international trade blowing from China, and the ability of a small sector of the economy—mostly the agrobusiness and mining companies. With economic stabilization, high interest rates, and an overvalued currency—the country became attractive to foreign investments, generating more jobs and employment

for the middle classes.

THE EXPANSION OF PUBLIC EXPENDITURE AND EDUCATION

With the economy growing at the steady rate of 4 to 5 percent a year, public expenditures increased to almost 40 percent of the gross domestic product, most of it spent on social security, the payment of civil servants, and the service of the public debt. The federal government benefited from the growing tax base, to distribute some benefits to the poor, with the conditional cash transfer programs and increases in the value of the minimum wage; to the civil servants, increasing their numbers, raising salaries and social benefits; to the rich, providing cheap subsidies and generous contracts for public works and services; and to political allies, through widespread patronage and tolerance to corruption. For the middle class, one benefit was to provide growing access to free higher education in public and private institutions and affirmative action, to respond to the demands of organized social movements.

None of these options required a national policy for good-quality higher education and effective and economically relevant science and technology. Brazil spends today about 5 percent of gross domestic product on education, mostly through states and municipalities for basic and secondary schools. In spite of recent investments in public universities, the provisions cover about 25 percent of the enrollment. While some institutions and professional schools are of good quality, most of them are not; and there is no mechanism to stimulate quality. The assessments carried on by the government only affect poorly rated private institutes in medicine and law, largely in response to the pressures from the professional corporations. Graduate education and research continue to expand, mostly in the State of São Paulo, in selected federal universities and in a network of federal research institutes. It is by far the largest research and development and graduate education establishment in Latin America. But research is mostly academic, with little factors in terms of patents and applied technology, and is poorly connected with the country's economic and social needs.

There are some counterexamples: Embraer, Brazil's successful airplane company, grew out of the Aeronautical Institute of Technology (ITA)—a technological institute and engineering school established by the Air Force; and at least part of the achievements in agriculture is explained by new varieties developed by Embrapa, Brazil's agricultural research agency. The National Service for Industrial Training (SENAI), a vocation-training agency run by the Federation of Industries, has a history of success in the qualification of specialized workers for the industrial sector. All, tellingly, are outside the realm of the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Science and Technology.

In short, as the Brazilian society modernized and its

economy grew, higher education institutions also expanded in size and some of them even in quality; they were and are still part of the same wave. Clearly, higher education could not have grown without economic development, but the reverse (so far at least) is not true, although it may become so in the future.

THE FUTURE

This situation may be transforming. As the economy becomes more complex and sophisticated, it requires a more skilled population and more relevant research. There are

signs that this is already happening, with new companies complaining for the lack of qualified engineers and midlevel technicians; and multinational corporations importing qualified manpower from abroad. To respond to this situation, higher education in Brazil will have to change its priorities from uncontrolled growth and access to quality and relevance—not an easy transition.

NEW PUBLICATIONS

"Access and Equity in Financing Higher Education in Arab Countries." *Prospects* no. 157, 1–176, March, 2011.

This special issue of UNESCO's *Prospects* focuses on access and financing in the Arab countries. Following a comparative analysis of trends in the region, this publication includes a series of case studies. These include Jordan, Egypt, Lebanon, Syria, Morocco, and Tunisia. The issue concludes with a discussion of international trends in public and private financing of higher education.

Bhandari, Rajika, and Peggy Blumenthal, eds. International Students and Global Mobility in Higher Education: National Trends and New Directions. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011. 243 pp. \$85 (hb). ISBN 978-0-230-61878-7. Web site: www.palgrave.com.

Focusing on key countries engaged in international student mobility, the chapters provide an overview of trends over time for regions and countries and include useful statistics—concerning flows of students, as well as analysis of policy and practice. Among the countries and regions included are the United States, India, China, Africa, Latin America, Germany, the United Kingdom, and Canada. Useful overviews are also included.

Bolman, Lee G., and Joan V. Gallos. *Reframing Academic Leadership*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 2011. 254 pp. (hb). ISBN 978-0-7879-8806-7. Web site: www.josseybass.com.

The authors recognize that universities are a special type of organization, and thus

the challenges of leadership in academic institutions are unusual. This book is a practical guide to leadership in American universities. It stresses how leaders can be effective on academic context and stresses creating a humane environment, as part of the responsibility of leadership.

Cimic, Charles, Neil Gross, and Michéle Lamont, eds. *Social Knowledge in the Making*. Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 2011. 471 pp. \$30 (pb). ISBN 978-0-226-09209-6. Web site: www.press.uchicago.edu.

A highly original sociological study of aspects of academic culture includes the use of archives, the role of theory in sociology, the role of peer-review panels in several academic contexts, the role of objectivity in regulatory science, and others. The cases are all from the United States, and the perspective of the research is sociological.

Cloete, Nico, Tracy Bailey, Pundy Pillay, Ian Bunting, and Peter Maassen. *Universities and Economic Development in Africa*. Wynberg, South Africa: Centre for Higher Education Transformation, 2011. 188 pp. (pb). ISBN 978-1-920355-73-9. Web site: www.chet.org.za.

The focus of this volume is how universities in Africa can contribute to economic development. Case studies from Botswana, Ghana, Kenya, Mauritius, Mozambique, South Africa, Tanzania, and Uganda discuss this theme. Authors conclude that universities need to focus more specifically on this goal; and the academic core of the university, and particularly the faculty, needs to be emphasized.

DeMillo, Richard A. Abelard to Apple: The Fate of American Colleges and Universities. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2011. 320 pp. \$27.95 (hb). ISBN 978-0-262-01580-6. Web site: www.mitpress.mit.edu.

This wide-ranging discussion of the past and future of universities, focusing mainly on the United States, links history with high-tech development to analyze how universities can best serve modern society. A main theme is how technology is changing higher education and what its role should be in the future.

King, Roger, Simon Marginson, and Rajani Naidoo, eds. *Handbook on Globalization and Higher Education*. Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar, 2011. 539 pp. \$260 (hb). ISBN 978-1-84844-5857. Web site: www.e-elgar. com.

A comprehensive discussion of the various aspects of the key themes of globalization and higher education, this book features 29 research-based chapters. Among the topics discussed are the university as a global institution, higher education and the new imperialism, globalization and inequality, regional responses to globalization, themes in steering higher education globally, competition in the global labor market, and a series of country-based chapters.

Lane, Jason E., and Kevin Kinser, eds. Multinational Colleges and Universities: Leading, Governing, and Managing International Branch Campuses. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 2011. 116 pp. (pb). Web site: www. josseybass.com.

A multifaceted discussion of aspects of international branch campuses, this volume